

The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

*in DCL's
briefing package
for Mr. Tolson*

National Intelligence Council

NIC No. 04547-85
11 September 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM:

Assistant National Intelligence Officer for Europe

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SUBJECT: Cardinal Glemp's Czestochowa Sermon

1. The text of Cardinal Glemp's 26 August sermon at Czestochowa--just made available here by Embassy Warsaw--indeed lives up to billing given by major US newspapers. Cardinal Glemp confidently asserted the Church's historical role in Poland and the Church's right and intent to continue its independent work for the spiritual and temporal good of the Polish people. The Cardinal uncharacteristically took these positions without much regard for the regime's political sensitivities.

- He warned about the Polish regime's tactics of indirection which contrast with with harsher atheist programs in unnamed "neighboring countries". He specifically castigated regime efforts to attack religious values through pushing materialism and pornography in the media while trying to remove religious symbols from schools.
- Most provocatively, he asserted the Church's intent to assist believer/party members to maintain their "vivid faith in God" in inevitable conflicts of conscience.
- He reaffirmed the Church's intent to pursue its mission at the family and parish level and even to seek to influence publications in a limited way.

2. We think that several motives may have led Cardinal Glemp to take these non-diplomatic, firmer stands at this time.

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- In general, he appeared to want to warn Gorbachev and company not to expect the Polish Church to passively endure "salami" tactics against it.
- He undoubtedly also meant the activist message to sink in at home where the Solidarity movement has visibly lost steam and the Church may have to fill any resulting vacuum--especially with national elections and a regime propaganda blitz in the offing this fall.
- We also suspect he wanted to establish a clearer, less-nuanced, basis for dialogues with Poles in the US and Canada where he is soon to visit. In this vein, he may have intended to rebutt some critics in the Vatican who dislike his frequently less confrontational pronouncements.

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